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ABSTRACT

The Concerns-Based Adoption Model (CBAM) Project conducted a study of the principals' role in managing change in their schools. The events in one school involved in implementing curriculum changes are described from an acculturation-based perspective. The term acculturation is used by anthropologists to describe the process of change resulting from culture contact. A mini-model of culture change, based on dimensions present in acculturation literature, is explored. The study applied dimensions of the model to events in one specific school, as a smaller unit of culture in the process of implementing the curriculum innovation. The study considered the relevance of the model to methodology and research on school change. An acculturative perspective allows for some prediction in terms of events and is valuable in research for providing an overview of the change process. This perspective has many important implications for use in facilitation and planning. (DWH)

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ACCULTURATION AND THE CHANGE PROCESS: AN EXPLORATORY FORMULATION FROM AN APPLIED MODEL FOR RESEARCH AND FACILITATION

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Paper presented at the annual meeting of the
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Acculturation and the Change Process: An Exploratory Formulation From an Applied Model for Research and Facilitation

Abstract

Traditional anthropology has dealt with the question of culture contact and change in terms of contact between cultures of significantly different patterns of life. The term used to describe the process of change as it occurs as a result of contact is "acculturation." Modern applied studies are utilizing the general processes considered a part of the acculturation model in analyzing change as it occurs in narrower spheres of culture. This paper explores a mini-model of culture change, based on dimensions present in acculturation literature. The paper applies dimensions of the model to events in one school, as a smaller unit of culture in the process of implementing a curriculum innovation, considers the relevance of the model to methodology and research on school change, and makes suggestions for use in research, facilitation, and planning.

Acculturation and the Change Process: An Exploratory Formulation From An Applied Model for Research and Facilitation[1,2,3]

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Introduction

Over the 1980-81 Season, the Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, the Concerns-Based Adoption Model Project, The University of Texas at Austin, conducted a study of the principal's role in managing change in their schools. Each of the nine schools in the study was in the process of introducing or maintaining curriculum innovations as mandated by their districts. This paper describes events in one school involved in the early stages of implementation from a perspective based on Anthropological studies of culture change, that of Acculturation. The assumption behind choice of an acculturation based perspective is that the general model may contribute to interpretation of events in terms of dimensions and response to a process. In this sense the school setting is seen as a minority culture assimilating and integrating

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[1]Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, March, 1982.

[2]The research described herein was conducted under contract with the National Institute of Education. The opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the National Institute of Education. No endorsement by the National Institute of Education should be inferred.

[3]The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions and participation of her co-workers in this study: Marcia Goldstein, Nova Washington, Beulah Newlove, Terry Needham, Shirley Hord, and Leslie Huling. She would particularly like to thank Teresa Griffin, Gene Hall, William Rutherford, and Jeff Northfield of Monash University, Melbourne, Australia, for their thoughtful comments on the text.

changes in their condition of life as sponsored by the larger educational system--district, state, federal, or theoretical.

Acculturation as it is defined in this paper is a mini-model derived from more traditional studies. Its application to applied contexts has gained increased credibility in recent studies as a means to view change as it occurs in smaller units of culture. In doing this it considers the school system used as an example sub-culture within which various norms, values, and roles, individual and collective, are seen as contributing to the change process.

It is the purpose of this paper to explore those dimensions present theoretically within the acculturation model, applying them to one setting, Hawthorn Elementary School. For the purpose of clarity of application, the paper deals with only one of the nine schools in the CBAM study, though some discussion of school comparisons in terms of acculturative dimensions is included at the end. The paper also views the relationship of acculturative concepts to procedures and measures used by CBAM in their study. It concludes with a discussion of the value of this perspective in conceptualizing the change process and makes suggestions for its use in research, facilitation, and planning for change.

I. An Acculturation Perspective

Acculturation

Traditionally, anthropologists have dealt with the process of culture contact and resultant change in terms of theories developed out of research on colonial development and the assimilation of native groups into larger, usually Western, societies (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, 1936; Herskovits, 1938; Linton, 1940; Social Science Research Council, 1954). The process was

called "acculturation," referring to the process of change in the condition of life in one system as it adapted to the impact of another culture. Culture as it was defined in traditional studies was multi-dimensional in that it included shared patterns of behaviors, attitudes, and interactions that differentiated one group from another. Change occurring within acculturation could affect any of these, or all, in almost any degree given the relative strength of the culture base and its normal pattern of response to new stimuli. What was originally applied to the larger cultural system has been used increasingly by social scientists to describe events at any level within the socio-cultural matrix, from the whole system to the individual (Bastide, 1971; Spindler, 1977). Figure 1 shows the general process of acculturation on the socio-cultural system.

Contemporary uses of acculturation concepts have applied selected processes from the larger model to smaller cultural units in terms of the working relationships attributed to them. Recent studies have also shown an increased emphasis on the role of the individual in the process of change (Spindler, 1977; Padilla, 1978). Spindler (1977) refers to the application of selected processes as 'mini-models' of action based on occurrences in the traditional model.

A basic definition of acculturation involves the response a receiving culture makes to the introduction of new stimuli or information. Response may be only to selected aspects of the stimuli, as in the acceptance of some traits over others, total assimilation (i.e., acceptance) or rejection, given the nature of the stimuli and the conditions of change. Herskovits (Redfield, et al., 1936) defines acculturation as the selection of traits for such reasons as social or economic advantages, and the integration of these traits over time. Selection may be forced or received voluntarily, with differing

Figure 1

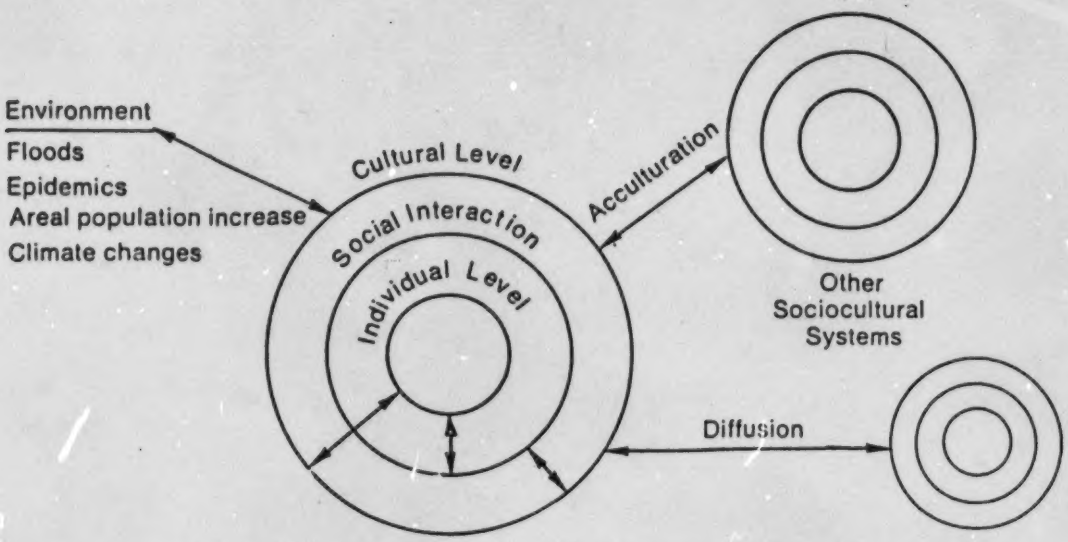


Figure 1. The Sociocultural System: A Model for Change.

(Spindler, L. S., 1977, p. 6)

results. Berry quotes the Social Science Research Council of 1954 (Padilla, 1978, p. 90): "acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from noncultural causes; such as ecological or demographic modifications induced by an impinging culture, it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits or patterns, or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life."

Acculturation encompasses three general processes: (1) contact, or the introduction of new stimuli; (2) conflict or resistance to stimuli given the operation of boundary maintaining mechanisms within the receiving culture; and (3) adaptation to stimuli aimed at reducing conflict, restoring equilibrium, and integrating new information. Adaptation or accommodation as a subprocess of acculturation may include (1) assimilation which is in fact becoming a part of the larger culture; (2) emulation or imitation which due to a matching of value systems present in the accepting group allows for manifesting behaviors or attitudes common to the donor culture; (3) integration which is the maintenance of cultural integrity yet the acceptance of the new idea in some form; (4) individualization which is the internalization and possible modification of the new information on the group or the individual level; or (5) rejection which includes both total rejection and withdrawal from the stimuli in some way; an increase in boundary maintenance such that the new information may be only superficially accepted and possibly later denied; or heightening of some traits from the traditions of the receiving culture to add contrast to the acculturative stress such as in the form of ethnicities, or behaviors aiding redefinition of self. Any of the above may occur simultaneously, or at different times, given the nature of the stimuli and the stress on the group or individual.

Acculturation has been seen to have a developmental dimension which includes contact, conflict, adaptation, and integration given the openness of the group to utilizing new ideas, roles in both the host and the donor culture as they relate to the change occurring, and the value seen in accepting the new information. This developmental dimension produces a model for the process of change, i.e., movement from one stage within change to another. Understanding the rationale behind that process also requires some knowledge of the nature of the change and the cultural system it will have impact on. Modes and functions contributing to the acculturative process may be seen in Figure 2.

II. An Interactive Structure for Acculturation

Acculturation as a Mini-Model

As has been illustrated above, acculturation is a complex interactional process involving both members of the cultural group undergoing change and members of a host culture, both as a group and as individuals. Modern society in itself consists of numerous groups, all existing as members of the cultural whole, but allowing definition in terms of those shared patterns that describe them as different from another group. A simple way to put it is to say that these groups have some maintained boundary within which there is some consensus about identity. That boundary may be broad, as in the case of ethnic definitions (Hispanic, Black), or narrow, as in single school setting, where the building itself acts as the boundary. These bounded settings may be considered as sub-cultures undergoing some kind of acculturative stress. Their response to that stress will be conditioned by many of the factors mentioned as applicable to contact between different cultural systems, even though as sub-cultures they share many of the same behaviors and beliefs as the larger culture. The major function of the mini-model is to apply the

Figure 2

Modes and Functions Contributing to Acculturation

General Mode

1. contact → conflict → adaptation → integration
2. contact → conflict → rejection

Variable Modes of Adaptation and Rejection

3. assimilation
4. emulation
5. emulation → assimilation
6. emulation +/→ integration
7. integration
8. integration +/→ individualization
9. individualization
10. rejection
11. rejection → internal acculturation (change)
12. rejection → assimilation
13. partial rejection

Functions

14. group
15. individual

Variables Relative to Functions

16. closed/open
17. rigidity/flexibility
18. functioning of adjusting mechanisms

} boundary maintaining mechanisms

19. roles
20. history of reciprocal interactions between contacting systems
21. values
22. norms
23. time
24. nature of contact
25 relative size of contacting groups
26. complexity of contacting groups/innovation
27. forced or voluntary introduction

general concepts of acculturation, as a means to organize the complexity of case data such that increased understanding of the process in the individual case may occur. In doing this, emphasis may be placed on selected aspects of the general process over others given the nature of the introduced traits and receiving group.

In terms of an acculturation perspective on change, this paper discusses two major aspects: 1) the change process according to acculturative dimensions, and 2) the interactive structure of the donor and receiving groups, as shown in the example of Figure 1. Some of the questions and examples to follow refer to the first aspect, some to the second. As a sense of the interactive or base structure is often necessary for interpretation of events according to acculturative dimensions, description and discussion relative to that will be presented first.

The Role of the Individual in Acculturation

Culture change could not occur without the consent of individual members as a part of the collective culture. Padilla (1978, p. 2) states: "the individual has become important in the study of acculturation because we now fully recognize that the individual is crucial in whatever change that occurs through contact between different cultural orientations. The individual's experiences in role conflicts, interpersonal relationships, and adaptation strategies are essential in our understanding of acculturative change." As members of the receiving group, the experiences and personalities of the first individuals to accept foreign traits or ideas, as well as their relative position in their society has been shown to influence the acceptance, mode, or rejection of the new traits. In the same way, the personality in contact with the receiving group, as well as the way in which the group to which they belong is viewed by members of the receiving group has been shown to influence

the acceptance or rejection of new ideas (Redfield, Herskovits, and Linton, 1936). In viewing or anticipating the impact of change on a cultural system it is important to consider the individual in terms of their experiences within and without the group, personality traits of key individuals, relative position of key individuals and the nature of their interactions with others. One consideration is who decides what happens. The individual's response to change, role and personality are a measure of the psychological mechanisms active in the change process. Further, as carriers of traditions individuals in contact with new information or another culture "never know their entire cultures and never convey all they know of them to one another. That part of their cultural inventory which they do transmit is conditioned primarily by their reasons for making contact, i.e., by the role they assume in dealing with one another and an alien group" (Social Science Research Council, 1954).

The Group in the Acculturative Process

As individuals collectively are the group, their shared values, ideals, norms, and behaviors become the frame for response to change. In considering acculturation at the group level the following factors have been shown to be relevant (see Figure 2, variables relative to functions): how closed or open the system is to new ideas, the relative flexibility or rigidity of the cultural system, norms in terms of adaptive patterns, the nature and functioning of internal adjustive devices, i.e., those that allow the culture to restore equilibrium, the attitudes and behaviors valued by the system, as well as the functioning of decision making within the structure of the group. Considerations in terms of contacts between the host and the donor group include: the history, purpose, and persistence of contact, the nature and intent of contact, the relative size and complexity of the systems in contact, the history of reciprocal interactions between contacting systems, matching of

values between systems, and the relative roles, personalities, and behaviors of contacting individuals. In terms of the nature of the new traits themselves, considerations would involve: the complexity of the traits, the closeness of new traits to ones already existing within the receiving culture, i.e. what congruity they have with existing patterns, the duration of acculturative contact, the value seen by the receiving culture in accepting the new information, be it economic, social, or structural, and the degree of modification allowed in the accommodation of the new information.

In viewing change at the group level, it is important to consider the interactive links individuals have to one another, as this is often an indicator of the path change will take. Observation, some sociogram technique, or context measure may be a means to achieve an interactive overview.

Research Questions

The questions below are intended to focus description on events in a setting under analysis to the change process from an acculturation perspective. Response to the questions should aim to be both qualitative and quantitative, such that some sense of cultural emphasis within the setting may be derived. Each setting may differ in emphasis, i.e., what weight is given to individuals, interactions, or select processes, within the change response. These questions are intended to provide a background on the interactive structure, the nature of the change effort and the groups involved, such that a base is formed upon which the change process, in terms of events related to introduction and resolution of confict, or adaptation, may have meaning.

The following sections apply these questions to change in the example and answer them in terms of emphasis and acculturative pattern.

The receiving group:

1. What is the context and climate of the group? How open is the group to new ideas? How flexible is the group? How does the group maintain it's boundaries as a group?

2. What are the group's past experiences with change?

3. What is the group's general mode of dealing with change?

4. How much choice does the group have about what happens in the change process?

5. How does the group view the change? What value do they see in it? (this may be shown in behaviors)

6. How broad a part of the total cultural sphere does change involve?

The individual in the group:

1. Who are significant individuals in the group?

2. What are their roles?

3. What is the nature of their interactions with others?

4. Who makes decisions about what happens in the group?

5. How do individuals respond to the change process or their role in it?

The change effort and the donor group

1. How long has change been in progress?

2. What is the nature of the change?

3. How was change initiated?

4. What is the nature of matching (attitudes, behaviors, values) between contacting groups?

5. Who are significant individuals in the donor group in contact with the receiving group? How are they viewed by the receiving group? What has been their role in the change process?

Emphasis

1. What is the major emphasis shown in the response to the change process?

III. Background on the CBAM Study and School Used as Example

The CBAM Study

During the field year 1980-81, the CBAM project at the University of Texas Research and Development Center for Teacher Education conducted a study of the principal's role in managing change in nine schools located in three different areas of the country. Each of the three sets of schools were at a different stage in the implementation of curriculum innovations. While the focus of the study was on the principal as the manager of change, questions were directed as well to problems specific to the stage of implementation and the schools involved. One set of these schools was in first year implementation, another in second, and another set was in the third year of implementation. Each school viewed was different in terms of the school context, principal's style, and direction taken in implementation. Study questions considered in part the effects of such differences on the implementation process.

The general perspective taken by the CBAM project and applied to the study rests on several assumptions. First, that change is not an event occurring at one moment in time, but a process that extends over some duration. Second, since individuals have different needs and skills and experience change in their own unique way, the individual is a significant unit of analysis in assessing implementation. Third, that the principal as the unit leader, significantly influences the efficiency and effectiveness of change. The CBAM model was developed to measure change in individuals, in relation to the innovation in implementation. Developing further sequences of the model includes not only the individuals and their use of the innovation, but also suggestions to aid facilitation and the training of principals. One

intent of this study was the elaboration of the CBAM model based on events as they occurred at the different schools.

The major features of the CBAM model as they were used in the Principal Study are shown in Figure 3. They are the Stages of Concern (SoC) (Hall, George & Rutherford, 1977) and the Change Facilitator's Stage of Concern (CFSoC) (Rutherford, Hall & George, 1981)--both pen-and-paper measures that describe the perceptions and kinds of feelings individuals experience about the innovation as it is implemented; the Level of Use of the Innovation (Loucks, Newlove & Hall, 1976), which assesses how performance changes as the individual learns about and then uses the innovation as assessed within a focused interview; and Innovation Configuration (IC) which describes the process of implementation in terms of variations possible in the use of the innovation (Heck, Stiegelbauer, Hall & Loucks, 1981). Measures used or developed in the course of the study, but in the process of further development, were the Intervention Taxonomy (Hall, Zigarmi & Hord, 1979), which was used to describe principal and teacher behaviors relative to the implementation process; and the School Ecology Survey (Hall & Griffin, 1982) a pen and paper measure designed to give a sense of school climate measures.

CBAM staff developed a research design that included four visits to school sites during the period of one year. In addition, a system of regular bimonthly telephone contacts with principals, teacher and resource teacher interviews, observation and consultation with school and district officials was carried out. Theoretical conclusions will be derived from a comparative analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, cross-case analysis, and the analysis of interventions made by principals. The goal of the Principal-Teacher Interaction (PTI) Study was to obtain enough information on the behaviors and effects of principals as change managers to apply that

Figure 3

Measures Used in CBAM Principal-Teacher Interaction (PTI) Study

	Measures taken
Individual Teachers	
Stages of Concern (SoC)	May '80, Oct. 80, May '81
Levels of Use (LoU)	
Innovation Configuration (IC)	
Interventions	May '80, Oct. '80
Interviews	Jan. '81, May '81
Principal and Resource Teacher	
Change Facilitator Stages of Concern Questionnaire (CFSoCQ)	May '80, Oct. '81
Interventions	Jan. '81, May '81
Interviews	
Bi-weekly phone interviews (principal only)	Sept. '80 - June '81
Group	
School Ecology Survey (SES)	Jan. '81
Observation	May '80, Oct. '80,
Situation Survey	Jan. '81, May '81
District	
Interviews	May '80 - May '81
Situation Survey	

information to concepts that can be used to facilitate change. Major study questions and sub-questions are shown in Figure 4.

While the study questions shown in Figure 4 are focused on the role of the principal as the manager of change, many of the measures used in the study may be applied to assessing change from an acculturation perspective. Measures as they may be applied to questions are as follows: 1) the receiving group--SES, composite SoC, LoU, and IC data, situation survey, observation, interview, and composite intervention data; 2) the individual in the group--SoC, LoU, IC, CFSoC, phone interviews, interviews, and intervention data; 3) the change effort and the donor group-- interviews, District Situation Survey, phone interviews, interventions, intervention mapping, and observation; 4) Emphasis--any of the above may show what is individual to the pattern of change. The example of Hawthorn School to follow uses interviews about interactive structure, intervention mapping, and especially the critical incident map (See Figure 6) to derive indicators of emphasis.

Hawthorn Elementary School, First Year Implementation

Hawthorn Elementary School is located in a district involved in the first-year implementation of a writing-composition program. Initiation of the program was district wide. The school itself is multi-ethnic, with a high number of students of Asian background. The school has a tradition of high academic achievement from students, a fact that was causing some discomfort to teachers now faced with increasing language difficulties and a more mobile population. The school is located in one of the highest socio-economic areas of the district, despite new mobility of the pupil population. Parents continue to be a major force in both academic and social realms, though parent interest seems to be directed more to the grade level of their child, rather than to the school as a whole. Asian parents, in particular, are stressing

Figure 4

Primary Questions: Principal-Teacher Interaction Study

I. What do principals do as change facilitators?

*A. What Interventions do principals make?

data analyses: code interventions* then frequency counts and mapping

B. What are the antecedents to principal interventions?

data analyses: look at the map and SoC, LoU and IC data

**C. How do principal interventions change as the change process unfolds?

data analyses: compare across districts

D. What are the immediate and long-term affects on SoC, LoU and IC of principal interventions?

data analyses: quantitative and qualitative analyses of IT, SoC, LoU and IC at the individual, school and district levels

E. What is the relationship of context variables to interventions made and their effects?

data analyses: look at PC and S data across sites, relate to interventions

II. How do the concerns of principals affect their functioning as change facilitators?

**A. Does the concept of Stages of Concern apply to the role of change facilitator?

data analyses: complete measurement development of the change facilitator CFSoCQ using PTI study data and data from cadre training activities

B. How do principals with different concerns behave with regard to facilitating change?

data analyses: contrast intervention and CFSoCQ data for the three kinds of principals.

III. What is the relationship between administrator concerns, the interventions they make and their effects on teachers?

data analyses: multivariate and qualitative involving the major study variables.

* Note that the intervention coding priority is on sponsored interventions.

**Stars indicate the study questions that are priority in terms of data preparation and planned analyses for early FY 82.

student achievement despite language difficulties. The school population as a whole is 575 students, 6 staff, and 23 teachers.

Almost all members of the teaching staff have been involved with teaching at Hawthorn for a number of years. Most teachers are tenured. Some have moved recently to the school from other parts of the district, but none are new to teaching. The principal expressed some concern over problems of motivating older, experienced teachers to break their routine and try something new, but took comfort in the fact that they did know what they were doing. Resource teachers came in from outside the school (the district resource center) and worked with the principal in deciding and acting on areas of need.

School Structure and Teacher Interactions

The school itself may be said to be divided into two major groups: the 1-3 grade level, and the 4-6 grade level. The format of the building itself, as well as scheduling of classes and lunch time, maintains that distinction. Though there are school social activities for teachers, there is little interaction between groups. The lower grade group may be characterized as more conservative and independent in their classrooms (minimal in-grade or cross-grade interaction), generally older, married, and longer at this school. The upper grade group is younger, more likely single, works and socializes together, and is more enthusiastic about their work. The upper grade teachers hold together as a group, while the lower grades are more a collection of individuals. The upper grade teachers were also characterized by strong leaders. This proved important in the expression of conflict and integration in the implementation process. Overall, in terms of the orientation of teachers in the school, they are a homogeneous group--they saw homework and academic achievement as a value within the school. They were of middle-class

background, and they generally agreed with the principal's view of his role as a school leader.

The Principal

The principal has been a principal for twelve years, five at Hawthorn. He characterizes himself as a "coach" in that he saw his role as a principal as one of coordination and motivation. His general leadership style is to make a decision about what needs to be done and then involve individuals or groups of teachers in planning how it is to be done. In doing this, he may allow the teachers a fair bit of room to match their needs to the goal, while stressing the necessity of reaching the goal. He tends to lean heavily on key teachers, those that he has worked with before and sees as movers, to implement school-oriented decisions. While he is firm about his role as leader, his interactive style is informal, with a great deal of dependence on teachers with whom he has positive relationships to carry momentum. He is very supportive of teachers who work hard, but lacks patience with those who overly maintain the status quo, or who don't pull their weight in the school. He expresses this impatience in distance and lack of interaction with them. One way this was manifested was in the nature of his interactions with the two teacher groups--with the upper grade teachers he had very positive relations and involved them in all phases of school activities, with the lower grade teachers he was distant and more authoritarian, often causing hard feelings.

The CBAM School Ecology Survey (Hall & Griffin, 1982) acknowledged this behavior and teacher response, with most teachers showing very positive feelings toward the principal, with the exception of some teachers at the lower grade level.

Significant Individuals

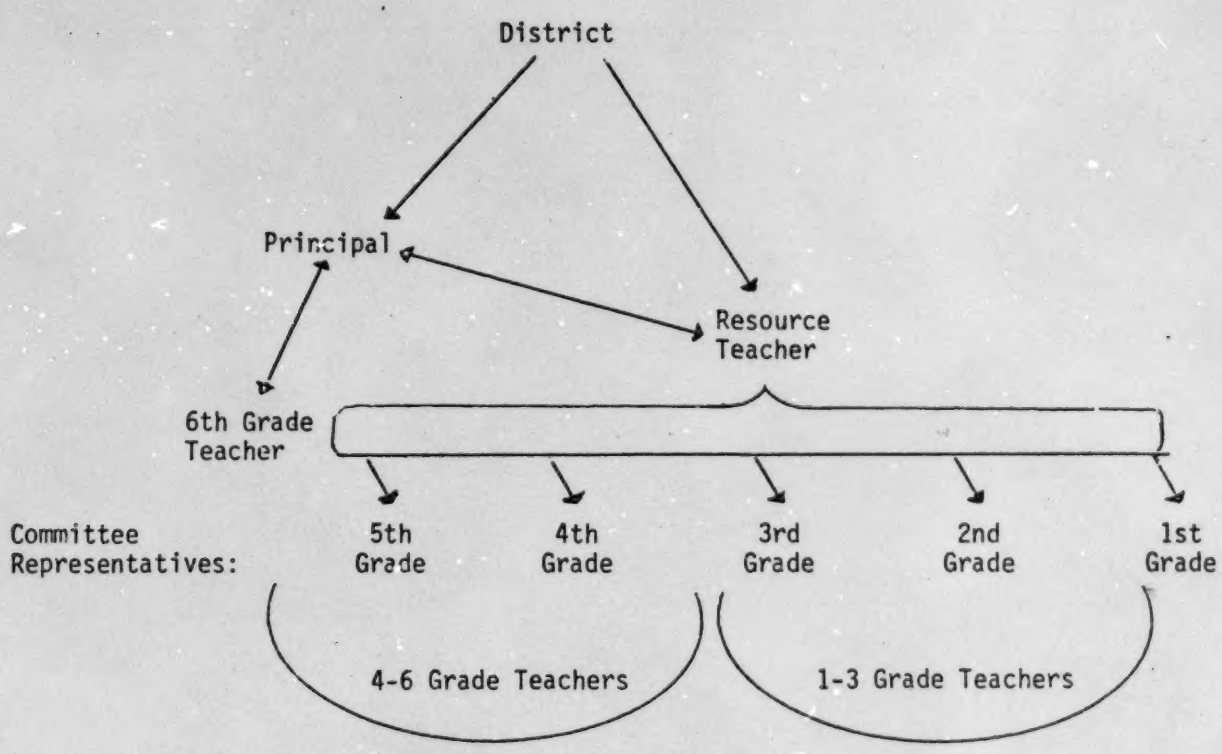
Other than the principal, two individuals proved to be important to the implementation of the new innovation. Both of these individuals were a part of normative leadership in the school, i.e., whenever there was something to be initiated, both were a part of the principal's tactic to disseminate information or chain of command. One was the resource teacher who acted as an extension of expertise from the district, interpreter of district policies for the principal, and facilitator with teachers in the school. The other was a sixth grade teacher who was innovative, organized, vocal, well liked by at least upper grade teachers, and often an expert on curriculum issues. Other than these individuals, the principal had selected one teacher from each grade level, usually one he had good personal and professional interactions with, to disseminate information to their grade level and to bring responses back to him or the resource teacher. The basic interactive structure for curriculum affairs at Hawthorn can be seen in Figure 5.

Implementing Writing Composition

The Writing Composition program was implemented by the district in the 1980-81 school year as an effort to raise achievement scores of district students in composition. Previous to 1980-81, the district had attempted a more informal approach to implementation by educating selected teachers in composition teaching skills and by encouraging them to disseminate that information to other teachers in their schools. Hawthorn's sixth grade teacher was one of this group. Overall, however, this had limited success, even at Hawthorn. The effort made in 1980-81 was focused on a district "Sourcebook" for writing development, which included suggestions for projects in writing, a holistic scoring device, and some structure for the program to follow. This was introduced to teachers in a workshop held in September 1980.

Figure 5

Basic Formal Interactive Structure for Implementation at Hawthorn



It was intended that teachers would apply the program individually to their classes as they saw need and areas of weakness. When the CBAM study started in the fall of 1980, teachers at Hawthorn viewed this as an optional supplement to what they were already doing in their classrooms, and in general, paid it little attention. Many were not even aware that the Sourcebook provided a program of sorts for them to follow. The innovation at this point was not distinct to teachers as something that would be of benefit to them, or as something very different from the status quo.

The CBAM study on the role of the Principal began in conjunction with the implementation effort. Without intention, the very presence of study personnel in the school added emphasis to implementation, especially early in the year. Study design required that teachers and principal be interviewed individually at four times during the school year. A pre-study interview was conducted in May 1980 to get a sense of current practice against which to measure change. Teachers interviewed in October 1980 became concerned when they were asked about their use of the Sourcebook, resulting in efforts by the principal and the district resource teachers to clarify the innovation and how it should be applied to the school. Discussion of events leading to further implementation continues in the next section. The end result was a writing program, following district guidelines, that was tailored to needs at Hawthorn. School planning in writing for the 1981-82 school year was even more individualized to the needs of the school, once basic procedures suggested in the Sourcebook were in use. Figure 6 shows the process of implementation, clarification, and change in use as it occurred at Hawthorn.

It is important to point out that early in the implementation of Writing Composition, the innovation was fairly ambiguous in its requirements for teachers. It is difficult for change to occur without clearly defined goals,

or at least for the change to be the desired change. Resolution of this ambiguity, in fact, became the process of implementation as stress was put on the school to have a writing program. Writing Composition then, as it became a program at Hawthorn, was a result of interaction between the suggested program (the Sourcebook and the ideas of district resource personnel), the concerns of teachers and principal, and the academic needs of the school.

IV. Change in the Acculturation Paradigm

Acculturation Research Questions and Implementation at Hawthorn School

Response to these questions are based on the general description of Hawthorn data from the CBAM study and the events as shown on the critical incident map in Figure 6.

The major emphasis shown at Hawthorn is on the principal's use of the resource teacher and the teacher committee as a means to integrate information and resolve group and individual conflicts in the change process. The resource teacher, in conjunction with the sixth grade teacher, acted as information specialist on the nature and practice of the innovation. The committee, working with teachers at their own grade level, allowed individuals to resolve conflicts with peers without confronting the principal's authority in the system. Peer pressure from committee members also aided the increased use of the innovation. The choice of committee members from each grade level allowed committee teachers to see themselves as having a role in decision making, despite some school contextual problems with negative feelings from lower grade teachers and an overemphasis on upper grade teachers and student achievement. Use of the committee played a fundamental role in the resolution of group and individual conflict. According to a developmental model for

Figure 6

Hawthorn School Critical Incident Chart & Time Line (Abbreviated from Case Study Map)

	ACCULTURATIVE DEVELOPMENT	Aug. 1980	CBAM Workshop for principals		District Workshop for resource teachers re. composition.
	CONTACT AND INTRODUCTION	Sept. 1980	9/4; 9/24-29 Principal meets with teachers about teachers' goals for year	9/9;9/16 Principal meets with resource teacher to plan for year	9/3 District workshop for teachers on composition/Sourcebook
	CONFUSION CONFLICT/ RESISTANCE ON GROUP LEVEL	Oct. 1980	10/12-15 CBAM* interviews teachers 10/14 Principal has staff meeting re. composition Teachers confused about program plan committee to review*	10/23 Principal meets with resource teacher re. composition	10/22* Sixth grade teacher tells principal of other teachers' concerns about innovation
	BEGINNING OF INTEGRATION ON GROUP LEVEL	Nov. 1980	11/10* Principal & resource teacher meet to plan composition & committee Resource teacher tells principal of district ideas to clarify innovation	11/10 Principal & resource teacher meet with committee (includes 6th grade teacher) 11/25 Resource teacher meets with committee in 2 sections--upper and lower grades	Principal meets with various teachers to encourage work on composition-related activities 11/25 on Committee teachers meet with others at grade level

CONTINUED INTEGRATION	Dec. 1980		12/1; 12/15 Principal & resource teacher meet to plan composition committee meetings 12/1 Composition discussed at staff meeting	12/10 Resource teacher meets with committee sections to review scope & seqoence 12/18 Resource teacher meets with committee sections to plan*	12/16 Resource teacher distributes scope & sequence to all teachers
CONFLICT ON INDIVIDUAL BASIS INTEGRATION ON GROUP & INDIVIDUAL LEVEL	Jan. 1981	1/12-15* CBAM interview re.school context Principal registers concern about context & comparative implementation at other schools	1/7* Staff meeting Resource teacher introduces Rubrics	1/6 Resource teacher meets with committee to plan staff meeting	1/15-2/24 Principal monitors use of Rubrics
RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT ON GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL LEVEL	Feb. 1981	2/8-15 Sixth grade competency tests given: included composition			2/24 Principal reminds committee to work with other staff on Rubrics
CONTINUED INTEGRATION ON GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL LEVEL	March 1981		3/3* Staff meeting to clarify Rubrics 3/24* Staff meeting to check use of Rubrics	3/1-30 Resource teacher works with teachers individually on Rubrics	Principal includes Rubrics in school newsletter to parents; collects essays for publication
	Apr. 1981	4/20-24 School-wide achievement tests	4/24 Principal & resource teacher meet to review composition	4/22-28 Principal meets with individual teachers on composition objectives	
BEGINNING OF INDIVIDUALIZATION ON GROUP LEVEL	May 1981	5/12-14 CBAM interviews	5/14* Principal, resource teacher & committee meet to plan for closure & 1981-82 year	5/18 Resource teacher distributes memo on further plans re. composition to teachers	5/14-15 District resource teacher plans for 1981-82 composition
	June 1981	6/1 Teachers get achievement test scores 6/12 School ends	6/16 Principal & resource teacher meet re. composition for 1981-82		

LEGEND * refers to events that were critical in initiating writing composition as a program separate from the language arts curriculum as a whole. These events led to the development of a HAWTHORN writing program, based on teacher needs and Sourcebook guidelines.

Events boxed ☐ had a strong catalytic effect on focusing the program or on developing the principal's game plan for implementation.

acculturative change, this would allow for continued integration of the innovation.

Other acculturation research questions are answerable in different degrees, given study data. As the CBAM study is focused on the role of the principal, as shown in this particular implementation effort, the major difficulty is in those questions concerning the historical pattern of adaptation at Hawthorn.

1. The receiving group: What is the context and climate of the group? How open is the group to new ideas? How flexible is the group? How does the group maintain its boundaries as a group? What are the group's past experiences with change? What is the group's general mode of dealing with change? How much choice does the group have about what happens in the change process? How does the group view the change? What value do they see in it? How broad a part of the total cultural sphere does change involve?

Many of the questions in this section are answered in the description of Hawthorn given in Section III. Little is known of the group's past experiences with change, academic or otherwise, except for the principal's statement that it was his policy to use key teachers and involve teacher ownership in a planning and integration process. This would imply past exposure to change, if only on the curriculum level. The school would seem to be open to new ideas, if they saw the value of them and a means to utilize them for the good of students. The school is flexible in developing a means to integrate the information, though there is emphasis on making the information their own, or relevant to their needs. Their boundary-maintaining mechanisms and adjustive devices are related to integrating the information according to their values and needs. The school has a history of little change in teacher population, and within that, a tendency for individual teachers to maintain the status quo in their approach to teaching. The group does see the value of student achievement and the necessity of maintaining a high academic reputation in the tradition of the school. If the school was

low in achievement in composition, then the group would agree with the district in the need to work on the area of composition. The method of developing a composition strategy, however, was the question. The group was not allowed a choice in accepting the innovation, once it was clear to the principal that the innovation was necessary, but was allowed to develop the means of change. The change effort was localized to one part of the total curriculum which meant that other aspects of the curriculum remained normative, minimizing some of the acculturative stress. Initial resistance to the change effort was expressed in teachers' belief that the status quo on writing was sufficient. When interviews with CBAM staff revealed to them the program included more than the status quo, and as a result raised their concerns, action to integration resulted as a means to resolve conflict. CBAM measures relative to these questions included the Social Ecology Survey (SES), initial SoC, LoC, IC interviews, principal interviews, and observation.

2. The individual in the group: Who are significant individuals in the group? What are their roles? What is the nature of their interactions with others? Who makes decisions about what happens in the group? How do individuals respond to the change process or to their role in it?

As shown in the description of Hawthorn, the principal, the resource teacher, the sixth grade teacher, and key teachers selected at each grade level played significant roles in the integration and dissemination of innovation information in the school. The principal and the resource teacher played major roles in interaction with district sources in introducing information. The principal's style of dissemination and clarification via the grade level committee allowed teachers to accept new information from peers without significant authoritative pressure. The resource teacher acted as major "middleman" to district ideas through her interactions with the principal to the committee. The principal retained administrative authority in decisions on the type and content of implementation; though he, for the

most part, acted in accordance with suggestions from the resource teacher and, through her, expressed teacher needs. The resource teacher then acted as a filter for both the district and the teachers to the principal. The sixth grade teacher was fundamental as an example to other teachers and as a means to clarify use of the innovation from her own experience. Her previous role in the school regarding other areas served much the same functions. Teachers and principal respected her leadership and example. Some individual conflict relative to the context and climate of the school was shown in resistance by certain lower grade teachers who expressed problems during the CBAM context interviews, causing the principal to become more aware of his general problem in managing the lower grade teachers. Conflict was resolved in continued integration, and a resolution by the principal to direct more personal effort to lower grade teachers. Individual teacher change in use of the innovation was measured by CBAM data collection of May 1981 as compared to results from October 1980 (SoC, LoU, IC, observation, interviews with teachers, principal, and resource teacher).

3. The Change effort and the donor group: How long has the change been in progress? What is the nature of the change? How was the change initiated? What is the nature of matching between contacting groups? Who are significant in the donor group in contact? How are they viewed by the receiving group? What has been their role in the change process?

Much of this section is answered under question headings 1 and 2. As this was the first year of implementation, the change process was in developmental stages. A question considered at other sites in the CBAM study involves further integration and individualization in subsequent years, i.e., how is change maintained. The change itself in this instance was localized to a single curriculum area. Broader areas of change involve more complex integration and interactions. The group did see a matching of value orientations from the district in raising student achievement. The resource

teacher was the most significant representative of district interests. Her interactive pattern was quiet, her authority an extension of the principal's interests. The responses to the research questions allow for a sense of a general pattern on which to overlay events that occurred in the process of implementation at Hawthorn. These events as they evolved in time are shown in the Critical Incident Map in Figure 6, page 22. The relation of these events to change within the acculturative paradigm is as follows:

Phase 1: Contact and Introduction

The innovation was introduced by district resource teachers at a workshop for district teachers held in September 1980. Teachers were given a writing composition Sourcebook, which they initially viewed as supplementary and optional to what they were already doing with writing. The innovation had been mentioned in more abstract terms at a staff meeting in May 1980 by the sixth grade teacher who had attended a workshop for selected teachers in Composition. Neither activity distinguished the innovation as something new and different for teachers. The change effort at this point was ambiguous in terms of a concrete direction for change to take.

Phase 2: Continuing Introduction; Confusion and Resistance at the Group Level

When CBAM staff members interviewed teachers about their use of the Sourcebook and suggested activities, teachers became concerned about what they were supposed to be doing in their classrooms regarding the innovation. Internal teacher discussions stimulated by the interviews resulted in the sixth grade teacher approaching the principal about teacher concerns. The principal, in an effort to resolve teacher concerns, held a staff meeting about the innovation. Teachers responded by suggesting a committee be formed to investigate the requirements of the innovation in terms of the needs of the

school. By his own report, the principal had used a committee strategy earlier in other implementation or school efforts. Use of the committee was an adjustive device to restore school and teacher equilibrium and to provide some sense of control over the situation. The principal then met with the district resource teacher to gain better understanding of the innovation and involve her expertise in working with the committee.

Phase 3: Beginning of Integration on the Group Level

A meeting held in November 1980 between the resource teacher and the principal allowed the resource teacher to tell the principal of strategies used by other schools in approaching the composition program. Many of these ideas came from a meeting of district resource teachers held in August 1980. The principal and the resource teacher planned a series of meetings with committee members to develop a scope and sequence for composition and to discuss teacher needs. Committee members were instructed to meet with other teachers a their grade level to find out what was being done with composition at each grade level and where gaps were, given plans expressed in the composition Sourcebook. This system allowed teachers to express their views on what shape the innovation should take, given their own and school needs. The principal emphasized and reinforced work on the innovation through meetings with individual teachers and through discussions at staff meetings. Development of a Hawthorn scope and sequence (December 1980) gave the innovation a "grass roots" dimension and increased involvement of teachers.

Phase 4: Resurgence of Conflict on the Individual Level; Continued Integration on the Group and Individual Level

CBAM context interviews conducted in January 1981, allowed individual teachers to express resistance to implementation and to the principal's authority. Stress on the school, in the form of the action toward change,

brought to the surface some of the problems generally present in the school system. Upper grade teachers who had a history of leadership in the school were receiving more attention and reinforcement than lower grade teachers. Certain lower grade teachers rebelled by questioning their need to change and what satisfaction they might gain from it. Verbal expression of their dissatisfaction seemed the major vehicle of resistance as the same teachers did continue to work toward integration with the school as a whole. It did result, however, in increasing the awareness of the principal as to the nature of his interactions with both groups.

Committee work with the resource teacher developed "rubrics" which is a holistic scoring device for use by teachers and students in evaluating composition products. Work was begun to familiarize teachers with the use of rubrics, with the intent of developing reliability among teachers in scoring papers.

Phase 5: Resolution of Conflict on the Individual Level Through Continued Integration

As teachers continued to work with the composition program and saw how it could be applied to each of their grade levels, their concerns lessened, and more of the innovation came into actual use. A number of staff meetings were held to discuss and resolve problems with the use of Rubrics, with committee members working with teachers at their grade level within the meetings. The resource teacher met with individuals who expressed a need for further clarification. The principal began to disseminate information on the writing program and the use of Rubrics at Hawthorn to parents and others outside the school. In doing this, the school presented the information as a "Hawthorn Writing Project."

Phase 6: Summary of Year; Beginnings of Individualization on the Group Level

CBAM interviews in May 1981 showed that teachers' concerns about the innovation were lessened, and more activities were directed to use of the innovation as developed in the integration process, in particular the use of Rubrics. The principal, resource teacher, and committee met to review the year's activities and plan for events in writing for the next school year. Plans included developing a writing curriculum to deal with children with English language deficiencies, a problem increasingly common with Hawthorn's high Asian student population.

V. An Acculturation Perspective: Conclusion and Suggestions for Research, Planning, and Facilitation

Acculturative Change and Hawthorn School

The example of Hawthorn School and the CBAM study shows that these general processes of acculturative change may be applied to the area of academic change, as well as to change in broader cultural spheres. The measures used in the CBAM study were sufficient to obtain a sense of group and individual response in terms of the study, though a sense of past history was dependent upon the principal's report. Given the financial and temporal requirements of any study, an in-depth sense of unit history and adaptive mode may be limited. Use of CBAM SoC, LoU, IC, and interview measures did provide a sense of response on the individual level, while the SES and interviews did the same for the group. Further use of observation and ethnographic measures might be warranted, especially if the change was broader than the context described; but the basic information was available, even though the study was not focused to an acculturation paradigm.

The basic pattern of change at Hawthorn, as shown in the map in Figure 6 and the phases discussed in Section IV, is as follows:

Introduction — Group Conflict/Resistance — Group Integration/Individual Resistance — Group Integration

Within this, the emphasis is on the use of significant individuals and the committee as a means to integrate use of the innovation. By comparison, another school in the same district faced with a push to implement the same innovation showed this pattern:

Introduction — Group Conflict/Resistance — Group Partial Integration Group & Individual Resistance — Rejection*

(*Group rejection with possible integration by certain individuals)

This latter school was inflexible in the face of change, had a history of little variation in staff, and minimal interaction between the teacher group and principal--both tended to allow the other to work as they saw best. The school had few strong teacher leaders, and therefore could be considered a collection of individuals. As a group, they were "closed" to accepting new individuals or new information easily. They preferred the safety of the status quo, and did not see a value in making a change. The principal made no effort to initiate work on the innovation, other than a superficial display of literature on the innovation, and notifying teachers of district workshops. Resource teachers (the same as at Hawthorn) reported difficulty in involving teachers, arousing interest in teachers, or even getting information to teachers. Often what they left at the school would not be distributed. The innovation was never clarified as to how it could apply to the school due to group resistance. In May 1981 when the study ended, the innovation was still not implemented. Even the action of a research study being conducted in the school had little effect on teacher interest or use. The Resource teacher

reported that some individual teachers worked with information from the Sourcebook, but the overall result was not school wide use.

This school presents quite a contrast to Hawthorn, where there was a different attitude to change in both the principal and the teachers, there was some concrete action taken to resolve problems, and the action of the study did have a catalytic effect. The end result at Hawthorn was some pride taken in the effort and plans to broaden the program to even more specifically meet school needs.

An Acculturation Perspective for Research

As indicated in Sections II and III, one major advantage of the use of acculturative dimensions and perspective is in the organization of data as a case study. A second advantage is in gaining a sense of a unit gestalt from which to develop aids to facilitate the process of change, or to use as a comparison to patterns as they exist in other situations. A third is in developing a methodology to view the change process. An acculturation perspective lends itself to gaining a sense of the relevance of the roles and interactions of individuals, which was the focus of the CBAM study. It further allows for a background on which to plot the actions and interactions of individuals within the change process and to begin to see the effects new actions may have.

An acculturative perspective is one starting point in developing a methodology directed at achieving a basic overview of change . The acculturative mode chosen by the group is indicative of its cultural pattern, as it may be applied by that group in other instances of change. This would be a perspective of interest to someone like the resource teacher at Hawthorn or the comparison school in anticipating directions for which a change effort should proceed.

The acculturative pattern discussed here is a descriptive device which demands some elaboration for interpretation, as shown in the answers to research questions in Section IV or in the Critical Incident Map in Figure 6. In itself, it is a shorthand means of explaining the process of change as it occurs in specific settings.

In discussing change from an acculturation model, we have discussed two major asspects--the interactive structure of the receiving group and its relation to the donor group, and variations in the model of acculturation shown in the process of change. Within the acculturative mode there is the general process of introduction, resistance, and some form of accommodation or integration. All of these are necessary to an overview of the process and must be considered, in terms of the parts and their relationships, to make for a solid interpretive base for research. The value of an acculturative perspective is in the organization of data in terms of events in time, and the interactive relationships of significant individuals such that comparison, facilitation of change, or prediction may occur.

For Facilitation and Planning

Given that the normal process of change according to acculturative dimensions follows a pattern of response to introduction of information, resistance to introduction, information, or the change effort, and some mode of adaptation or integration, a facilitator or planner should consider these as critical parts of developing and planning for change. In this regard some of the following points may be applicable as suggestions for approaching facilitation or planning from an acculturation-based perspective:

1. With regard to introduction/contact

    a. Consider clarity of innovation in terms of how it is to be utilized by the group/individuals

b. Show group/individuals the value of change for them

c. Consider interactive pattern, mode of adjustment, and value system of group and target implementation to match--This means some preliminary knowledge of, or interaction with, group.

2. With regard to conflict/resistance

a. Consider nature of conflict in group/individuals

b. Consider relation of conflict to the introduction and clarity of goals

c. Consider relation of conflict to implementation strategy

d. Consider relation of conflict to group context/history

e. Work to resolve conflict areas, if possible

3. With regard to adaptation/integration

a. Consider individual level and needs

b. Consider interactive pattern of group

c. Consider normative adaptive mode of group

d. Consider lead individuals and their interactions, networks and roles

e. Work within normative adaptive mode, if possible.

Conclusion

Traditional anthropology has dealt with the question of culture contact and change in terms of contact between cultures of significantly different patterns of life. Modern applied studies are utilizing these same general processes in analyzing change as it occurs in narrower spheres of culture. These narrower spheres are viewed as sub-cultures assimilating and integrating change as it is presented to them by the cultural whole. The concept of a sub-culture assumes some boundary within which a group has a history and an identity that differentiates them from another unit. It also assumes that this boundary is maintained by some internal processes within the group to continue the distinction. As such, the unit responds to change much the same

way that a larger culture would, with the advantage to researchers of lesser complexity.

Analysis of change, regardless of the size of the unit, requires some means to evaluate the change process with particular reference to time, i.e., some sense of the nature of the group before introduction or contact, what is a normative adaptive strategy for the group, what is the basic structure and who are significant individuals within the structure. It also requires applying this information to change in the course of time, with attention given to the nature of conflict and resolution of conflict. The group, the individual, and the nature of the change are all important factors. The CBAM model, with its emphasis on the individual in the process of change, addresses many of these issues.

An acculturative perspective presents a sense of the cultural pattern of response and allows for some prediction in terms of events in the change process. For research, it has a value in allowing an overview of the change process that may be applied to methodology, case studies, or case comparisons. For facilitation, or planning for change, it suggests, in terms of dimensions present in the model, a means to consider how introduction is to be managed, what may be the cultural pattern of resistance, how best to aid integration in terms of a cultural process or the history of a unit, and what is unique to the system under view.

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